4:Grajdanzev--36-37 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 175, 721, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"The process of subjugation proved difficult because the terrain was mountainous and covered with tropical jungles. Many times the regular army detachments were sent into the territory of the savages and returned without achieving anything; they lost men in ambushes and from illness, and in some cases the imperial troops were actually defeated by the savages, who knew the terrain perfectly. It became clear to the authorities that the aborigines could not be conquered by a frontal assault, and so they began a constant siege. No weapon was left unused in the struggle. Barbed wire for hundreds of miles surrounded the savages and, in the regions of the most 'difficult' aborigines, electric current was used to make the barbed wire fatal. But the savages soon discovered ways of overcoming this difficulty. After the World War bombing from airplanes was used against them, but without apparent success. Their arms were confiscated, but by paying exorbitant prices they managed to buy new ones from Chinese smugglers. Hatred between tribes was exploited and Japanese policemen would return in company with triumphant tribesmen who were carrying the heads of defeated enemies. Nevertheless, this policy failed, (1) and the reason for its failure was simple; the [37] Japanese could not or

1. Owen Rutter, a British colonial administrator, who is opposed to the 'pampering of the native' and who is a partisan of 'justice and firmness' in dealings with

> the [371 natives. writes: 'I say that the Japanese have failed utterly, in their endeavors to solve the important question of bringing the natives under their influence.' Through Formosa, p. 233.

would not understand savages who were unwilling to give up their lands. Governor-General Sakuma, for example. starting his campaign in 1909 to make the savages a 'law-abiding people'—though they were quite law-abiding from their own point of view—compelled them to surrender their arms and had those who refused 'chastised'. "

4:Grajdanzev--37 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 721, 177.17 Japan
636.17

"But arms were necessary for the aborigines, not only to fight the Japanese, but also to hunt for food. The Japanese authorities may have been sincere in their desire 'to civilize' the savages, but civilization as they understood it meant the turning of hunters into cultivators of rice fields. From the warrior and hunter they were taking away his lands and his gun and were granting him a hen for egg production. Savage 'superstitions' were 'eradicated', but the savages were expected to believe in the Japanese goddess, Amaterasu Omikami, with her million deities and the Son of Heaven. The natural consequence of this 'civilizing' was war. This war with the savages cost 7,083 lives and more than 4,100 wounded. For the time being their resistance may be considered to have been overcome, but this has been due to overwhelming force, and not to the beneficent influence of rice fields and shinto shrines."

6: Kirchhoff--31 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 721, 177.72 China
636.72

At times the Chinese do not fear, even today, to use open force, if it is a matter of forcing the Pepo-huan off better soil. This was done with the natives inhabiting the north of the island, who are called Kabaran. They finally withdrew to the other side of the mountains, to the fruitful plain of Komalan (more popularly, Kapsulan), which stretches out on the eastern coast of North Formosa as far as Su-aô; there 4,000 of them are said to live in flourishing settlements and to extend even farther south along the coast as far as Hua-lien. Unfortunately they are constantly at odds with each other, so that there can be no question of a united opposition against the Chinese. Nor can they take flight into the neighboring mountains on the west; for there they would be met by the free Tsche-huan, who hate them as renegades.

7: Joest--57 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 721

The term Shekwan means half raw or half cooked. The Chinese apply this term to those aborigines who settled in the coastal regions or near the boundary. The Chinese trade with these people, among whom the custom of headhunting is practiced rarely or not at all.

The term Chinwan means raw. The Chinese apply this term to the aborigines who live in the forests and mountains of the interior.

7: Joest-- 58 [4] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 721, 881 Chin-hoan

Both Chinwan men and women are tattooed, the women more frequently than the men. They are tattooed when they reach puberty. Tattooing is done with a thorn; after the process is completed they rub soot in the wounds.

The men tattoo their entire forehead, from the hairline to the bridge of the nose, with 20 to 25 horizontal lines, each one centimeter long. After a man has been thus tattooed, he is expected to begin headhunting.

7: Joest--60 [2] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 301, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

Boys are very proud if they can wear bracelets made of the pigtails of a Chinese whom they have decapitated.

7: Joest--60 [9] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 721 Chin-hoan

There is a fair division of labor between Chinwan men and women. The men go hunting and fishing and make their own weapons; since feuds with other tribes are traditional among the natives, they also consider fighting as part of their work. The women cultivate the fields, fetch water, chop wood, and mash rice; they also spin and weave and do the cooking. They go with the men when they are hunting so that they can carry home the game after it has been dried out over a fire.

7: Joest--61 [8] E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 581, 721, 727 Chin-hoan

The natives' favorite way of killing an enemy is to lie in ambush... near one of the enemy's villages and wait for someone, man, woman, or child, to pass; then they shoot an arrow at the victim's back and cut off his head. Then they put the enemy's head in the bag and return home in triumph. A headhunter is received with great honors; a banquet and drinking bout is held and he is popular with the girls, who will not turn him down if he proposes marriage.

10: Schumacher--226 [5] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 266, 582, 609, 721 Chin-hoan

The Chinese who thus penetrated into the mountain regions [MC: in search of camphor] may have met the earlier inhabitants of these areas as enemies, and from the initial disputes, all kinds of other difficulties could develop. It is reported, for instance, that the inhabitants of the mountains, who are naturally shy, obtain courage by catching Chinese persons and eating their livers raw. Furthermore, it is said that under penalty of death, the aborigines are forbidden to marry before they have killed seven Chinese and have proof of their deaths.

10: Schumacher--226 [7] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 721 Chin-hoan

Another man who had spent quite some time in the mountains of Formosa told me that he and two of the chiefs had drunk to one another. On that occasion he had to take off some of his clothes and his back was rubbed with mutton fat, while he and his co-drinkers, and the others present, drank some intoxicating beverage out of the crania of some Chinese. I myself can only repeat that the inhabitants of the mountains appeared to me as peaceful and almost shy people and that I had no occasion whatsoever to get a glance of anything which would have incited the most vivid imagination to present such confusing statements.

11: Haguenauer--32 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929
116, 721

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

The Tayal are considered the most warlike people of the island.

11: Haguenauer--36 [4] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 286, 301, 554, 721 Atayal

Custom decrees that a girl should wear a number of bracelets of brass wire which corresponds to the designs that she can weave. If a man wears these bracelets, they have a totally different meaning; if he has them on just one arm, they are simply ornaments, while if he wears them on both, it shows that he has taken part in a head hunting expedition.

A Tayal never went out alone in quest of a head; he was always accompanied. The little group did not start until it had consulted the omens; if one of the members of the expedition had had a bad dream, or if the augural bird, the silliok, had sung in the wrong way, the warriors did not leave the village. And even if all the signs were favorable, they did not venture very far. They built a little hut at the entrance to the forest, and arranged their weapons and food stuffs there. Then they purified their arms and provisions by sprinkling them with fresh water. When this was done, the head of the expedition purified himself, and then all of his companions in the same way. Then everyone went to bed. The next morning they examined the dreams and portents again, especially the bird songs. The hunt did not begin unless all of the signs were propitious. As you see, the change from ordinary life to the hunt was made progressively and in a prudent fashion. It was a matter of getting the support of the ancestors' spirits. In the village all taboos were enforced while the hunters were absent. The women did not weave, all useless activities were avoided, and the fires which were lighted in each house before the departures of the warriors were kept burning. The men walked until they found a good spot to lay a trap. The capture of a head was not an heroic combat, for the unfortunate victim was taken by surprise. One warrior shot, while the others rushed ahead to finish him off with lance thrusts. When the victim was prostrate, the warrior for whom the hunt had been arranged [38] drew his sabre and cut off the head of the dying

man at the base of the skull. The head was taken back in a special kind of net, or else it was fastened to a hook that was inserted into the scalp.

So we see that the capture of a head was not an act of savagery, nor was it purely a matter of individual glorification. It is true that the successful hunter had a right to be tattooed as a warrior, or if he already had this distinction, he might give his head to a younger man so that the latter might have this signal honor. But head hunting was essentially an enterprise which was imbued with a very special kind of religious meaning. It was done with the approbation of the souls of the ancestors, and it was an affair which concerned the whole community.

11: Haguenauer--40 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 695, 721, 769 Atayal

Head hunting was such a sacred practice that it could only be carried on under certain circumstances:

1. to please the spirits of the departed ancestors, and to ensure their protection;
2. to be able to enter the abode of the souls after death;
3. so that the community would have a good harvest;
4. to determine the innocence of an accused man, or to decide which one of two adversaries was right; the spirits will permit the innocent man to get a head while the guilty person will not succeed.

11: Haguenauer--40-41 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 773 Atayal

The Tayal have several legends which explain the origin of this custom. [MC: of head-hunting] Although they vary, they are all fundamentally the same: it seems that two clans were created by the original ancestor, and that on one occasion one of them was numerically inferior to the other. Accordingly it demanded the right of killing as many members of the other clan as would be required in order to reestablish the [41] original parity. The head of the clan which had the numerical superiority recognized the justice of this demand.

This legend is the best possible illustration of the social importance of head hunting. The native considers that it is a sacred command, and he believes that he must conquer as many spirits as possible in order to assure numerical superiority and the prosperity of his clan.

11: Haguenauer--42 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 602, 609, 721, 775 Atayal

The victim of a head hunt was always a stranger, and they cut off his head to liberate his soul. By apologizing to it and offering it wine and millet, the soul was enslaved so that it would serve the clan. And this conquered soul added one more unit to the community, which now had an additional voice in the kingdom of the spirits. This reasoning is also applied to animals. The savage collects the skulls of the beasts which he has slain; by doing this he believes that he increases his power over them, and that he ensures good hunting for the future.

31: Hofmann--621 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 178, 609, 721 Tsou

It is strange that, although the Tsou tribe supposedly has given up headhunting long ago, the natives preserve large numbers of human heads in nets; in Tappan I saw about 140 of these. Judging from their age and condition I would say that this tribe practiced headhunting until quite recently; I believe they have ceased to engage in this sport only from motives of self-preservation and from fear of the Chinese and Japanese. The respect with which they treat these trophies of war indicates that, if a war breaks out again, this old custom will be revived. The Tsou are the enemies of the neighboring tribe, the Hosha (cf. Fig. 6) these are a more savage people and I was not able for that reason to observe their villages as much as those of the Tsou. The presence of the Chinese and Japanese, and the guards posted along the boundaries of the latter, prevents warfare between these two tribes. I learned that the reason for the feud is that both claim the same hunting grounds.

14: Tamai--95 [6] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 175, 609, 721 Chin-hoan

Between 1886 and 1889 when Rinchoko [MC: son of Chinese Governor General of Formosa] was in Maraisha, the Tschinwans, the Formosans and the Chinese, were in constant contact with each other, but since 1890 their friendly relations have ceased. In 1893 all the guard houses built by Rinchoko in Maraisha were burned down. During the night of May 20, 1895, about 150 Tshinwans made a sudden attack on the Formosans in Kushaku; 17 Formosans and 5 Tschinwans were killed. Four days later the Tschinwans renewed their attack and burned 37 houses. From that time on communication between the two groups ceased altogether and was not renewed until the arrival of the Japanese.

14: Tamai--96 [14] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

Tattooing is a mark of distinction. A man who has not killed anyone may not be tattooed, and if he is not tattooed he may not marry. The women, on the other hand, are not allowed to be tattooed until after they are married. Men who have many skulls in their possession are held in high esteem.

14: Tamai-- 97[6] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 721 Chin-hoan

In former times the Tschinwans were the only inhabitants of Taiwan (Formosa), but later they were pushed back by the Chinese and their territory was limited. For that reason the Tschinwans hate the Chinese and it became the duty of their men to cut off as many heads of the Chinese as possible.

14: Tamai--96 [16] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 301, 554, 721 Chin-hoan

The Tschinwans pierce the lobes of their ears; the men put a bamboo stick about an inch in length through the opening, the women use a stick three or four times as long.

Both men and women wear bracelets. The men, however, may wear a bracelet only after they have killed at least one Chinese or Formosan; for each man they kill after that they add another bracelet. Thus bracelets, like tattooing, are a mark of distinction.

14: Tamai-- 97[7] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 353, 721, 773, 554 Chin-hoan

In every house there is a rack to hold these heads [MC: secured in headhunting expeditions against the Chinese], which are considered ornaments. There are among the Tschinwans six famous heroes. They are called Raushuu, Watsushinai, Maraiakao, Yuakanajo, Ocki, and Juwantschümoi. All of these have more than 70 heads on their racks. In three houses the Japanese found heads on these racks that had just been cut off and were still bloody.

14: Tamai-- 97[9] J-2 (1896) 1896 Formosan Aborigines
116, 352, 721, 411, 574 Chin-hoan

Mr. Kurosaki writes in the Osaka-Asaki-Shinbun as follows: "When we arrived in Togasha we were completely drenched. The Tschinwans, according to their custom, built a fire in two places in their houses. The house in which we lived was very large. There was one bed in each of the four corners. In this house we also saw two baskets made of bamboo and filled with sugar cane, a wooden mortar, a pot which was placed on the floor, and several plates on a rack. Many braids of Chinese which had been killed hung from the walls. On one of the beds we saw three spears, three swords, and two rifles. A number of heads, bones, rifles, and hide of stags were suspended from the timber of the roof. Our host had two blankets which he very kindly offered to us.

16: Müller--231 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 881, 882, 721

A solemn ceremony is held when the child comes of age. Among the Ataiyal tribes this may take place only after he has undertaken his first successful headhunting expedition. Among the Pyuma and Amis tribes boys and young men must first pass through a period of preparation; they are separated from their parents and live in a special hut under strict supervision. Women may not approach the house of these bachelors. Before the boys are considered of age they partake in a ceremony which may be likened to the practice of knighting. The chieftain gently hits the seat of the boy with a bamboo pole.

16: Müller--233 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 721, 554, 881

"Among the Ataiyal, Tsarisen, Paiwan, and Pyuma aborigines tattooing is a universal custom. Among the men the design consists of one or several vertical lines on the chin and forehead. The first line is usually made after their first successful headhunting expedition, but the children of prominent men sometimes receive theirs before that. The design for the women consists of a network of lines around the mouth extending as far as the ears. Among the Tsarisen tribes, the head of the family is tattooed on the back and on both elbows; the design consists of straight and curved lines. Among some of the Paiwan and Pyuma tribes the women tattoo the back of their hands.

Among the Ataiyal, Vonum, and Tso'o aborigines it is customary to remove the left and right canines of the upper jaw.

16: Müller--236 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 692, 695, 721, 787

The aboriginal chiefs administer justice either independently or together with the tribal elders. If a case is doubtful a trial by ordeal is held. This is preceded by certain formalities. The chieftain first of all asks the soothsayers and the men who interpret dreams whether a trial by ordeal should be held. If he has their consent he orders the accused to go on a headhunting expedition. The latter then makes the necessary preparations. He puts his weapons in a sacred place and lives in seclusion in a hut. If a day arrives which from the flight of birds he judges to be favorable he starts on the expedition together with several friends. If he is successful he is declared free from guilt, but if he returns home without a head he is punished.

16: Müller--237-238 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 751, 789, 824, 721

Even when there is no immediate cause for anxiety, preventive measures are used. Thus every household uses measures to drive the evil spirits from its house several times a year. For this purpose they strew grains of rice, mixed perhaps with pieces of pork [238] or small pieces of Calamus [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus) or its aromatic root] on the floor and speak magic formulas. Calamus plays an important part in all the religious ceremonies of the aborigines. If there is a smallpox epidemic, they try to appease the evil spirits by going on a headhunting expedition and presenting the head as an offering. [MC: Millet and calamus form an important part of the periodic propitiation ceremonies. For details see category 796.]

16: Müller--240 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
609, 773, 721

In the mythology of the natives, a huge stone under a tree is connected with the origin of headhunting. They say that this stone once split in half and a woman arose from it. The children of this woman had a feud which was arbitrated by an ordeal. He was to be the victor who would kill the greatest number of bears on a bear-hunting expedition. Later, when the Chinese came to this island and their strength and knowledge was compared to that of bears, the Chinese became the objects of the hunt.

16: Müller--240-241 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 721, 881, 582

Among the natives of Formosa, as on all the Malayan Islands, the practice of headhunting is widespread and forms one of the most important traditions. The Ataiyal aborigines practice it to a greater extent than any other group. Those of the Paiwan and Vonum group also practice it a great deal. In former times, according to the Chinese sources, headhunting was practiced throughout Formosa. There are various reasons for this custom. It is considered, first of all, a test of courage. This may be seen from the fact that the tribe which has the largest number of heads in its possession is considered the most courageous. Where there are many skulls there is also great power, according to the text of one song. Every young man [241] who wants to be considered an adult must pass this test. If two men are rival suitors, the girl chooses the one who is the first to return home with a head.

16: Müller--241 [2] U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 721, 727

The method used for headhunting is the following:

As a rule the hunter hides near a road and there waits for a victim; often he must wait for days and has little food with him. He knows from experience that whoever approaches this region will scent danger at the slightest sound and take precautions, and therefore uses the following ruse: he steps on a twig and shoots his victim at the moment when the latter stops to find out where the noise came from. If the victim is hit, the hunter rushes out of his hiding place and cuts off the head.

The natives either keep the heads on racks which are made for that purpose, or they suspend them from the roof of the huts. Some tribes preserve the skulls of animals which they have killed in the same way.

17: Norbeck--23-24
773, 721

(no date) 1950

Formosan Aborigines
Atayal

[MC: For myth concerning division of forefathers into two groups, and the origin of head-hunting, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--40-42 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773, 721 Atayal

[MC: For the Atayal story of the origin of tattooing, and its relation to head-hunting, see category 539.]

17: Norbeck--24-27 (no date) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
773, 721 Atayal

[MC: For the myth concerning conflict between the Skhamayun and Buta, chief of the Atayal, see category 539.]

19: Guérin and Bernard--555-556 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 304, 721

Two things are axiomatic among the savages: 1. every tribe which fights the Chinese practices tattooing; 2. the tattoo marks on the forehead and the chin are the only ones that have any fundamental meaning. In the middle of the forehead there is a rectangle two centimeters long and 1 centimeter wide; it is filled with parallel lines which are spaced a millimeter apart. The same median design is found on the chin, save that it is a little shorter.

The Chinese, who is either too naive or ill-informed, [556] states that the formula inscribed on the face of the savage corresponds to two periods of his life: puberty and marriage. Unfortunately for the son of Sem, the savage has a different interpretation for these signs.

When a boy is betweeen twelve and fourteen years old, his father, brother or some relative takes him on a Chinese-hunting expedition. If the hunt is successful, the child receives his first chevron, in this case a tattoo mark, when he brings the heads back to the village. But his chin is not decorated until he has slain a Chinese with his own hand. There is often a very brief lapse of time between the two.

The aborigines of the Morrisonien group [VMM: the authors seem to have confused Mt. Sylvia with Mt. Morrison] only use these two signs. We have seen other clans, which added a transversal bar both on the face and the chest.

It is unfortunate that women should be tattooed too since they have no share in the

hunt; but a blue mark defaces the forehead of the marriageable girl. In many cases, this is the extent of the work, but occasionally, as among the greater number of the Tayal tribes, the bride is covered with marks until her cheeks and lips disappear beneath the linear streaks of the design. Naturally this may cause severe inflammation, whereas the plain tattooing on the forehead and the chin is of no significance.

19: Guérin and Bernard--566 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721

The aborigines have a system of defence which is very similar to their plan of attack. Hunters scour the frontiers in small groups, they lie in ambuscade in strategic spots, do not appear until there is no danger, and are very rarely surprised. The bordering tribes would be unable to protect their territory unless the clans in the interior helped them perform this task.

The aborigines who are protecting the Chinese do not attempt to flee from what every savage considers as his chief duty, so they kill their enemies, but at a safe distance, where they are no longer responsible for them.

20: Alvarez--257 [4] (no date) 1927 Formosan Aborigines
116, 181, 884, 583, 721

"All the savages are extremely warlike, bold and fanatic of unbounded freedom. They were always disposed to take up arms in defence of their liberty. The bride price is a head of an enemy (head hunters), which at the same time is a proof that the youth has become man. When he has brought home the head of his first slain enemy, the young man thereafter is regarded as adult."

21: Asai--8 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 578, 619, 721

"The territory of each tribe is well fixed, also the hunting area. If one group enters into another's area, war will usually break out. The number of heads taken by each side decides who won the war. Sometimes there are quarrels between gaga in the same village."

21: Asai--4 [4] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 761, 775, 778

"The cult of headhunting was very general in Formosa, but at present it is engaged in very rarely. They believe in two kinds of death, natural and accidental. In natural death, the soul goes to the land of death where it lives peacefully. In the case of accidental death, the soul does not go to the land of death but must wander around the spot where the person was killed. If the heads of the enemy are taken and brought back to the house, then the soul of the person killed will stay in that place peacefully. Such heads have mana and aid in growth of crops. Therefore, it is good to have as many heads as possible. They are offered food and wine on various occasions."

22: Wiedfeldt-- 13[2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 304, 582, 881, 721 Atayal

The young man who brings home a skull that he has captured is permitted to have himself tattooed, and is thus declared capable of marrying, as well as of being admitted to the councils of the tribe. A young girl receives this sign when she has reached sexual maturity and has woven a piece of fabric. In many tribes, a new stripe of tattooing is added for every skull that is captured, just as in modern states diamonds are added to a decoration for special reasons. Among the Atayals this mark differs according to tribe and clan, so that an Atayal Elsa would not have to ask the fatal question, but could distinguish from the place and the density of the strip of tattooing what the family and the nature of her rescuer was.

22: Wiedfeldt--14-15 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 411, 177, 224, 721 Atayal

Each Atayal makes his bows [15] out of the flexible wood of the Katsura. He makes his arrows out of bamboo reed. Nowadays most of them have metal tips, which he gets from the Chinese, but formerly they had nothing but wooden tips which had been hardened by fire. He still uses arrows with three wooden tips for shooting birds and as fire-bolts, the destructive effects of which on Japanese houses were demonstrated by the last Schimptonoff war. He also makes himself a spear two meters long, with a tip of wood, antelope horn, or recently of metal forged for this purpose by the Chinese in Amoy. Shields and helmets are unknown. Instead of them, one always carries a net which he has woven himself of ramie, for the purpose of carrying home the game which he has captured or the skulls he has taken.

22: Wiedfeldt--20 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
554, 533, 721 Atayal

The young man tries to win the favor of his girl by distinguishing himself in the skull hunt, as is shown by the Atayal love songs translated by Florenz.

22: Wiedfeldt--29 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 685, 721, 695 Atayal

If two clan heads have a dispute concerning a piece of land, the tribal chief first discusses the matter, and then fixes a period of a few days, after which they are to appear again, bringing with them all the skulls that the members of their clans have been able to capture in the meantime. The clan chief who presents the most skulls gets the land. If a gun is stolen and the thief can not be found, the clans which are under suspicion, but never more than ten at the most, are ordered by the tribal chief to go out on a head-hunt. The clan that does not bring back any skulls, or the one that brings back the smallest number, is considered the thief. If a supposed murderer denies his deed, he has to present a certain number of skulls within a fixed time. The number of skulls rises according to how well founded the suspicions are. If he brings the skulls, he is not guilty.

22: Wiedfeldt--29-30 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 114, 881, 695 Atayal

Although Bullock and many others after him write that "the wild savages of Formosa seem to carry on the practice of man hunting out of mere devilry," a somewhat more thorough investigation shows that the hunting of skulls has a very definite legal significance, and hence springs from other grounds than mere devilry. [30] Successful skull hunting is taken as a sign that one has come of age, and is accepted as evidence in penal and civil law.

22: Wiedfeldt--30-31 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 721, 609, 177.72 Japanese
636.72

In the Atayal concept, the members of the tribe are the only ones who should be protected. They are permitted to hunt only savages of other tribes, Japanese, and Chinese, and quite understandably, Europeans, but the number of these is very small. The first group retaliates by conducting their own skull hunts, or by special punitive and plundering forays. The second group is protected by a strong military and police force, which punish such excesses as severely as possible. The third group is victimized comparatively more often but even in this case the Japanese occasionally take harsh measures against a tribe that has a particularly large amount of skull hunting chalked up against it, and force it to withdraw behind the Aiyu line. Inasmuch as unrestrained head hunting on the part of the members of the tribe has seriously endangered the tribe formerly and now in particular, when this practice endangers its independence and its very existence, head hunting is only permitted in the border tribes and supposedly in most of the tribes of the interior when it is ordered by the tribal chief. In many of the tribes of the interior the clan chief also has this privilege. In many tribes, it takes place only in the fall, after the tribal assembly, so that apparently all legal contests are postponed until that time. Everywhere a young man who wants to acquire the skull which will show that he has come of age must control himself until a skull hunt has been declared open for his clan. This regulation does not make the skull hunt any the less dangerous for strangers who approach the territory of the tribe, for they never know whether or not a skull hunt

has been ordered for precisely that time. At any rate, the time before the millet harvest is the safest, and the time after it is the most dangerous. This unpleasant custom is the only thing that gives the slightest justification to the application of the otherwise unjustified designation of savages to the Atayals. It makes no difference whether a skull is that of a man, woman, or child, provided only that the child is over two years old, for the skulls are not captured in battle, but are taken by tricking and surprising the victim. [31] According to the statistics, which are surely incomplete, about 300 Chinese and 40 Japanese are killed annually in the skull hunts. Some 300 Chinese and 20 Japanese are wounded. There is no clue to the number of savages who are captured, but it must be almost as large as the number of Chinese, in the border districts alone. In spite of all the punitive expeditions and all the efforts on the part of the Japanese border patrol, almost no progress has been made in suppressing this unpleasant custom up to now, because it is closely connected with the legal aspect of the life of the Atayals. The most success seems to have been obtained in cases where the Atayals have been told: "Skulls are skulls. Hunt monkey skulls, or antelope skulls".

22: Wiedfeldt--32 [2] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 643, 646, 721 Atayal

The negotiations [MC: carried on in an Atayal tribal assembly called koto-kumai-roh] concern political and military affairs. The koto-kumai-roh makes the decisions and confers upon the tribal chief the necessary powers, according to which he acts. The assembly has nothing to do with his judicial powers. Nevertheless, the assembly takes this opportunity to question the clan heads concerned in any infraction of the law that has taken place, and on their confession, a penalty is imposed or a skull hunt is ordered. Decisions are for the most part made unanimously. Otherwise, voting is by rising from the squatting position. A simple majority decides, and the vote of the tribal chief is used to break a tie. In general, a minority is bound by the decision. In the tribes of the interior, which have not yet had any fights with the Japanese, only those clans are said to take part in a fight whose heads have voted for it, while the other clans remain at home, but are not permitted to give aid to the enemy.

22: Wiedfeldt--32 [3] F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 619, 609, 648, 721 Atayal

Just as the struggles with the Japanese have had the effect of producing greater solidarity within the tribes, so in recent years, under the same sort of pressure, there have arisen temporary alliances of several tribes, but never of a majority of tribes, for the purpose of a joint military expedition. In spite of the enthusiastic support given these joint expeditions by many of the tribal chiefs, the Atayals have no confidence in these products of extreme necessity. My question as to whether tribes of different savage peoples had ever united for the purpose of a joint military venture, aroused only laughter and amazed headshakings among the Atayals present.

22: Wiedfeldt--41 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 609, 681, 721 Atayal

Their penal law is based on the principle that every infraction of a legal usage must be punished. Conscious striving after justice is foreign to the Atayals, as far as I can determine. They want to restore conditions which have been upset by the offense to their proper place by means of expiation. They recognize infractions of the law only within the tribe. Adultery with a woman who does not belong to the tribe does not trouble any member of the tribe. To kill a man who belongs to another tribe or even to another people, confers prestige as a head-hunter. I myself have heard an Atayal boast in the presence of the Japanese police commissioner, who had been in office for 13 years in the border territory, that he had stolen a pig from a Chinese the night before. Neither do they consider it objectionable to pick bananas from a neighbor's field as they pass by.

22: Wiedfeldt--47-48 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines-1-2
116, 177, 182, 619, 648, 721 Atayal

Every tribe is independent of the other tribes, or is even hostile to them. This attitude was adequate, as long as they did not have any dealings with opponents who were superior to them in strength, as is now the case with the Japanese, and it has naturally given the individual tribe and the chief of the tribe a greater measure of freedom and independence than if a portion of his rights and duties had been transferred to a superior institution. To create social organizations without subjection and on a footing of equal rights seems uncommonly difficult in political life as well as in cooperative labor; even for [48]primitive individuals it seems almost impossible, especially if one considers how much scientific effort and practical work has now been directed at this goal. Even under the pressure of the need to defend themselves against Japanese penetration, the Atayal tribes have not been able to unite. Only individual tribes have been able to unite for minor undertakings, and that not particularly satisfactorily. Nevertheless, some of the chiefs have not spared any effort to bring this about. In the tribes in the interior, the union of the clans in the tribe is so slight, that it is not sufficient to enable them to wage war as a joint effort. In their case, it might even be doubtful whether the social bond between the families by means of their clans in the tribe is so strong that they feel themselves to be members of the same tribe, or whether the tribe is only a union of the clan heads. The tribal feasts which are celebrated in common, the uniform and simple legal procedure of tribal decisions, and the fact that they actually seldom take the liberty to absent themselves from tribal wars, make the first assumption seem more probable,

especially since there is no doubt that this is the situation which prevails among the border tribes.

22: Wiedfeldt--51 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 224, 262, 721 Atayal

If several of the men of a tribe are working together in the assembly, or in the hunt, or in a war, they are absent from their huts for days. In the first case, they are fed on the results of the community fishing expedition, and in the second, on the results of the hunt. In the third case, each man brings with him a supply of millet for several days. This is prepared by the women who live nearby. When the millet was consumed, the war was also at an end, as long as they were dealing with other "savages". In the long drawn-out campaigns waged by the Japanese, they had to suspend operations after a few days, in order to procure new food.

24: Anonymous--92 [3] U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 342, 554, 721

There is another people on this island; they live in caves and thus resemble the ancestors of the Chinese. They love to kill people and they hand to their enemies' skulls, after they have skinned them and adorned them with ornaments of gold, in their dwellings as a sign of their courage.

25: Plaut--32-33 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines-1-3
116, 647, 654, 721, 177.65 China
636.65

We should give particular attention to the viceroy's [EJ: i.e., the Chinese Viceroy Liu-Ming-Chuan, appointed in 1884] efforts to enclose the natives' territory. During the course of time the natives who lived in the western plain, the P'ing-pu-fan, Formosan Pe-po-huan "plain savages" and the Shou-fan, Formosan Sek-huan "ripe savages" or half-tamed ones, had been conquered or else they had retired into the inaccessible mountains of the eastern portion of the island, where the Sheng-fan, Formosan Tseng-huan, the most uncivilized tribes have lived in a state of complete independence for a long time. There was a continual battle between the settlers and the mountain savages; the settlers were eager to push their boundaries farther into the native domain, while the natives used every opportunity to attack isolated settlers or unprotected villages, and in this way they got their revenge and secured some more Chinese heads. Prior to the time of Liu-Ming-Chuan, the Governors had not followed any definite plan with regard to the savages, and in general they allowed the settlers to defend themselves as well as they could; the viceroy undertook to find a means of overcoming this handicap and he resolved to civilize the natives. For this purpose he established the "Training and Development Bureau", Fu-k'en-chu, (Japanese Bu-kon-kyoku). He had set himself the enormous task of educating the savages and of making the land arable.

To fulfill this plan, he established three principal bureaus in Ta-ku-kuan, Tung-shi-chiao and Pei-nan [33] and then had twelve branch offices, one in each of the Hsien

cities, I-lan, Yün-lin, Pu-li-she and Lien-hua-chiang, while the twelve others were in Su-ao, A-li, San-chiao-yung, Wu-chi-shan, Shuang-hsi, T'ien-wei, Hsien-ts'ai-weng, Ta-hu, Fang-liao, Nan-hu, Shui-chang-jung, and Hsiu-ku-luan. To attract settlers from the mainland, he set up settler recruiting bureaus in Amoi, Swatow and Hongkong.

The personnel of the bureaus consisted of 1 commisioner, 3 clerks, 5 policemen, 2 interpreters, 1 cook and 1 native maid. Then there was also 1 doctor and 1 barber. All of these employees were well paid: the commissioner, who was the superintendent of the branch office, received 30-80 taels a month, each clerk had 14-[illegible], a policeman had 6-7, the first interpreter 20, the second 14-15, the maid 7, the cook 4-5 taels, and they all received free board. The interpreters had the hardest task, for they had to work with the savages and make them in favor of the Government's projects. The yearly expenditures of a branch office averaged about 6000 taels, and then in addition to that there was the food and equipment for the protecting troops. All of these expenses were defrayed by the revenue from the camphor monopoly.

As the savages are on a low cultural plane, it was necessary to be sparing with proofs of their good intentions, for it would have been an easy matter to have spoiled them. Accordingly interpreters went to them with gifts, and tried to persuade them to surrender; then at the same time the natives saw the protecting troops at frequent intervals, so any idea of insubordination was nipped in the bud. Those who showed their readiness

to collaborate were given rice, grain, meat, salt and vegetables; every month the barber paid them a visit, and at the end of the year they received clothing, oxen, and sows. Many of the natives entered the Chinese service as fire watchers and interpreters, in return for a monthly compensation, and then fathers sent their children to the school which was established for them in front of the south gate of T'ai-pei; there they received instruction in the dialect of the natives as well as in Classical Chinese.

As the viceroy realized that one of the chief means of civilizing wild peoples is to bring them into contact with educated people, he had the troops build an 80 kilometer road from Chang-hua diagonally across the mountain to Shui-wei on the east coast; the result was that many of the inhabitants of the interior and the eastern part of the island surrendered, they adopted the Manchu queue, and began to till the soil.

25: Plaut--39-40 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 622, 681, 692, 721

Administration of justice is always in the hands of the chief.

The chief examines the question, listens to the parties and some witnesses, and gives a verdict. Sometimes he puts his sentence into effect at once, or he may let the victim or his family attend to it. In doubtful cases, when there is no other way to reach a decision, the natives invoke the gods. In other words, the deceased ancestors of the contending parties are invoked to make the decision. There are two ways of obtaining this decision--they are head-hunting and single combat. Head-hunting is organized in this manner: the two opponents, who are frequently accompanied by their friends, go out separately and attack Chinese peasants who are working alone in the field, or they attack unprotected settlements, and then they behead those people whom they can overpower. The group which comes back with one, or several, or with the largest number of heads has won the suit. [40] The duel is fought by the two opponents, or, if one of them is accused of murder, it is between the accused and the accuser, who is usually a relative of the murdered man. They fight until one of them kills the other and cuts off his head. This indicates that the ancestors have given the victor strength to vanquish his opponent, and this demonstrates the innocence or justice of his accusation--the guilty man has received his punishment.

The affair is more serious when the opponents belong to different tribes. The chiefs generally try to reach a peaceful settlement, but they do not always succeed, and then there is no other recourse but to settle the quarrel by battle between the two tribes.

25: Plaut --40 [2] U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 571, 682, 721

Murder and homicide. Among the natives of the Palisha district, the punishment for murder is exile. But life outside the clan society is a miserable existence, and the banished man's most ardent desire is to be allowed to return home. Head-hunting offers him an opportunity to win this permission. If he succeeds in capturing a Chinese head, he sends it to the tribe as a sign of victory, and then some time later he may return home without being in danger.

25: Plaut--60-61 U-4 (no date) 1903 Formosan Aborigines
116, 273, 585, 721 Atayal

There are a good many different marriage customs. The Atayal celebrate the wedding in the bride's house, and then the guests accompany the couple to the husband's home. The western Atayal have no ceremony other than the drinking feast; the eastern Atayal, on the other hand, have the curious custom of erecting in the open a scaffolding about twenty feet high; [61] the newly weds have to sleep on this platform the first five nights after the marriage.

Occasionally two young men woo the same girl. Then there is a race between them; they go out on a head hunting expedition, and the first one who returns home with his booty gets the bride.

31; Hofmann--606-607 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 131, 554, 721 Atayal

Beyond Taikokan, to the east, the mountains ascend steeply. During the bloody battles in 1907, the foothills were wrested from the Malayans. The tribe which lives here, the Atayal, belongs to the Seiban group (the "red savages"); this is a tribe of headhunters which is feared greatly. The practice of headhunting is or was characteristic of most of the Malayan tribes. [607] The natives decapitate their enemies, among whom they include neighboring tribes as well as Chinese, Japanese, and Europeans. The headhunters are not, however, a courageous people. They lie in ambush and take the enemy by surprise, usually while he is at work; then they cut off his head which they preserve as a trophy at home. If a native has taken the head of an enemy, this is his badge of courage. This cruel custom is so deeply rooted in the beliefs and traditions of the Malayans that all attempts to combat it so far have proved unsuccessful.

31: Hofmann--609-610 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 554, 721

I tried, by asking the most reliable informants, to find out the reasons why the aborigines were headhunters; I did not limit [610] this inquiry to the natives in the north, the region I visited, but included those in the south as well. I made this attempt especially because, according to many sources, the aborigines are also cannibals; none of these sources, however, has advanced proof of this fact. Thus Fischer (1) tells the

1. Fischer: Streifzüge durch die Insel Formosa. Berlin, 1899.

story of a chieftain who offered his own child as food to a neighboring chieftain. These horror tales are hard to believe about a people which is not, comparatively speaking, on a very low level of development. The natives are not a nomadic group; they are a settled group living by agriculture, although it is true that their agriculture is very primitive. The motive for headhunting is simply that the head of an enemy forms a tangible proof of courage. The natives keep these trophies in the same way that they keep the antlers of stags or the tusks and heads of boar which they have hunted down.

The moral code of the natives demands that they take revenge on the enemy who robbed them of their fertile land and sent them to the barren mountains. This tradition is handed down from generation to generation, and it is believed that it is actually a good deed to obtain the head of one of the enemies of the country. (2) Their revenge

> 2. For that reason head hunting has increased during the first few years; the Japanese, without harming the natives themselves, have penetrated into their region and exploited it.

is therefore never personal. It is not a question of decapitating the man who has felled a certain camphor tree, for instance. Everyone who belongs to the enemy's party is liable for the common guilt with his head. Since it is also considered an act of courage to get the head of an enemy, this trophy is necessary to one who wants to marry. The bridegroom places the head, a bloody token of his ability to become a husband, at the feet of his bride. A second reason for this custom is a superstition which cannot be eradicated. Thus, in the north, the harvest festival in honor of the gods is celebrated by an offering consisting of several human heads.

On Formosa, headhunting takes the place of a procession held to implore the deity for rain or sun. Finally, headhunting also takes the place of a trial by ordeal. If a

case cannot be decided, [611] the chief of a tribe, the guardian of the law, proclaims that he who is the first to bring back the head of an enemy, is in the right.

31: Hofmann--618-619 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 177, 291, 721 Tsou

During our expedition through the forests we occasionally saw some of the natives who had come here to hunt or merely from curiosity. [619] They are a shy people, short, with beautiful bright eyes; they are clothed in deerskins, leaving their arms and legs bare. These are members of the Tsou tribe. The word tsou is equivalent to human being, but they do not apply this term to any other people, neither the Malayans nor the Chinese and Japanese. They are, comparatively speaking, quite civilized; I was told that they had given up headhunting several centuries ago, but this is probably due to the influence of a foreign culture more than moral conviction. There has been no perceptible progress in their culture. Since they are numerically inferior to the other tribes and since they are constantly at war with the neighboring tribe, the Hosha, they are probably forced to accept the rule of the Japanese.

31: Hofmann--619-620 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 281, 554, 721, 764 Tsou

There were several large stone plaques on the floor; [EJ: of the dwelling] these cover the tombs of deceased relatives. The most interesting feature was the large number of trophies obtained through hunting; these are the pride of the chieftain and of the entire tribe. In the house I visited there were more than 500 skulls of boars [620] and more than a hundred antlers, all of them with six branches, some of them quite thick. The natives hang in their huts the skins of animals that have just been killed in order to let them dry out.

31: Hofmann--623 [2] N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721

On the whole the Malayans on this island do not possess a high degree of courage. The practice of headhunting is to be regarded not as a display of primitive aggressiveness but as the result of a constant desire for revenge. I believe that it corresponds to the blood vengeance found among other primitive peoples.

35: Collingwood--140 [2] D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721 Sek-hoan

"Seeing a revolver, they were very anxious to see it shot off, and stuck up a leaf upon a door to be shot at, which was done twice, upon which there immediately appeared two or three men armed with matchlocks, who had evidently turned out at the sound of the pistol to protect the community in case of need. This little incident seemed to prove that they were always on the alert, and gave colour to the general report that they, like the Chinese, are subject to the raids of the raw mountain savages, against whom they are always more or less prepared to defend themselves. This was also corroborated by the fact, that in the midst of the village a building was in course of construction, which was evidently of a defensive character."

37: Steere--305 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 101, 131, 162, 578, 721 Sek-hoan

"The Lek-whan, a large division of the Pepo-whan, living near the center of the island, seem to have originally come from near Chang-wha. A few miles to the north of this city there are still toward two thousand living in the towns of Loisia and Toasia, though, like the Pepo-whan near Taiwanfu, badly in debt to the Chinese. There is a large settlement of them in a mountain valley, two days' journey to the east of Changwha, called Posia or Polisia, to which, according to their own account, they began migrating forty or fifty years ago, and they are still going, there now being some four or five thousand there. This valley is entirely surrounded by mountains and forests inhabited by savages. They are nominally at peace with these, and pay them a yearly tribute of rice and cattle, but in spite of this they are continually losing their lives from attacks by the savages, some twelve or fourteen persons from the valley being killed annually, while at work in their fields or fishing or hunting. The only news of the manner or cause of the loss the friends and relatives receive, being often the headless trunk lying where it fell."

37: Steere--308 [1] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 293, 411, 554, 721, 266 Chin-hoan

"The arms of these savages consist of a few fire-locks procured of the Chinese, and used principally in hunting, and lances and large knives used in hunting Chinese heads. They decorate these weapons with tresses of Chinese hair, and when upon the hunt for Chinese, carry highly ornamented red bags for carrying home the captured heads. They make regular expeditions every year down to the border land, where they lie in wait for the Chinese who come into the forest after rattan, bamboo shoots, etc. Human heads have a recognized value among them, and a man's importance depends upon the number of heads he has taken. The base of the skull is cut off, and the brain extracted, and the head then thoroughly dried, the teeth being generally knocked out--to make necklaces. We saw twenty-four of these skulls upon one small platform, and apparently the property of one man. I could find no proof that they are cannibals, though this charge is frequently laid to them. They may drink the blood of their enemies, as I saw the Lek-whan drinking warm deer's blood, but the bodies of the Chinese killed by them are generally left lying where they fell."

37: Steere--312 [2] S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines
116, 721, 861, 622 Chin-hoan

"From the fact that they have become so dependent upon their trade with the Pepo-whans, the practice of head hunting seems to have nearly gone into disuse. There were several skulls in niches in their houses, and I was shown a grass hut, with seven or eight skulls heaped in a corner. There were a number of small seats upon the ground, and as nearly as I could ascertain, this hut was used as a dormitory for the small boys, that they might get accustomed to the sight of the skulls of their enemies, and learn to prize them. The villages are upon steep hill-sides. The houses are built solidly, but rudely, of slabs of slate stone. Places are excavated in the hill-side, and the walls built up and covered with slate, the roofs slanting in but one direction, and that with the direction of the hill, so that the houses are hardly seen at a little distance. The roofs are supported by heavy cross walls inside, and by timbers, some of which have been rudely ornamented with carving. The doors, which also serve for windows, are so low that we had to creep on our hands and knees to enter. They are secured by slabs of slate set upright."

37: Steere--314-315 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosan Aborigines 1-2
116, 157, 177, 721

"The numbers of the savages of Formosa are hard to estimate. They are certainly more numerous than would be expected from the rough and mountainous character of the country they inhabit. They are weak and cowardly and badly armed, and their only safety is in [315] their woods and rocks, through and over which they make their way with almost the facility of wild beasts. Those who inhabit the sea coasts to the west are in the habit of plundering wrecked vessels and adding the heads of those of the crew who escape drowning to their treasures. They are said to be a fierce race and better armed than those of the mountains. The Chinese are slowly encroaching upon them where the soil and timber is worth possessing, but it will take centuries at the present rate for them to gain entire possession of the island, and it is probable that they never will conquer the whole island but will leave the most mountainous parts of the island in the hands of the savages, just as they have done in the interior of China itself, where there are many tribes of savages who do not recognize Chinese authority. There is probably no day of the year that passes without bloodshed along the savage border in Formosa. The savages are continually coming out and lying in wait for the Chinese, and the Chinese are in no way particular how they get the savages in their power and revenge themselves, but the Chinese government seems to have no concern in it. Those who live along the border understand that they do it at their peril, and that their death will not be noticed. The only means for defense or warning that we saw upon the border were undertaken by private individuals, and we saw one man,

whose lands and property were exposed, who was offering ten dollars per head for savages."

40: Kirk--11 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 609, 721

"It is only natural, say the Japanese, that the savages have developed an intense hatred for all foreigners and look upon Japanese, as well as Chinese, as deadly foes. So many Japanese, in the decade following 1895, lost their lives in a vain effort to subjugate the savages that some officials looked upon the campaign as hopeless and were in favor of giving the savages up as untamable wild men. Others held to the opinion that the aborigines would become civilized if they could be exposed to Japanese culture."

40: Kirk--13 S-2 (no date) 1941 Formosan Aborigines
116, 701, 721, 712

"The camphor companies came to the aid of the puzzled soldiers with well-trained guards of their own, until in 1907 the guard line, which had measured only fifty miles under the Chinese administration and one hundred miles in 1896, extended for three hundred miles over hill and dale. Every half mile or so the line is fortified by guard-houses or pillboxes. Two or three guards live at each station, and there is one superintendent to every four or five guardhouses. A policeman and his family live at the superintendent's station. The sentinels, who patrol the path between the guardhouses, challenge all savages--even the peaceful ones must get special permission to travel and must approach the line only at certain designated places. The guards are ordered to use their rifles if the savages disregard the challenge. The superintendents communicate with one another by means of a system of alarms which will bring immediate aid to any station in trouble. These guardhouses, for the most part, are located far up on the mountain slopes in the midst of dense forests."

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

descendants of the sixth generation counting from him. It is said that about 80 years ago, *ufi* lived originally in Shih-t'an Hsiang. It was his son *layao-ufi* that moved to Hu-shan. *layao-ufi* had a daughter *qojo-layao* and a son *βaitso-layao*. *qojo-layao* married *taimo-layao*, the grandfather of *joqex-etex*. *βaitso-layao*, the younger brother of *qojo-layao*, had entered *camil maililax* because he was brought up in his sister's husband's family which belonged to *camil məlilax*. This case indicates that a *camil* member may not be cansanguinity, A *camil* may include members from other *camil*. Thus *tapilas* is a local social group which is interwoven by the above mentioned k groups.

III. HEAD-HUNTING

Though the Atayal has been famous for their old custom of headhunting, the *Tseo²le²* Tribe which inhabits the regions closer to the plains occupied by the Han people, abandoned the custom earlier than other tribes. In *tapilas* and *paqali*, only a few persons have had experience of head-hunting. The *ʃiaqalo* Atayal kept the custom until more recent time because they had lived formerly in a more remote regions known as *jaβayan* and *loxqax*. They were coerced by the Japanese to move into this region. The following accounts were given by *joqex-etex* and *taqun-nomin* (70 years of age, he had moved from *loxqax* of *ʃiaqalo*). In the following descriptions when the custom of these two villages do not accord with each other, (m) indicates that of the former, and (s) that of the latter.

1. Reasons for undertaking a head-hunting expedition

Head-hunting in Atayal is called *mə-qaqa*. It means "to observe the old tradition". According to the motive of the expedition, it may be divided into the following three kinds: (1) for blood vengeance; (2) for military achievement; and (3) for settling dispute. The former two are called *məqetsβo*(m) or *məʃiβo*(s), which means "hunting"; the last one is called *məqulaqam*(m) or *²əmolas no qoaq*(s), which means "settling dispute". The former two kinds are employed to venge oneself against the member of another tribe or sometimes one's own tribe; the latter kind undertaken to settle a quarrel between kinsmen. The result of the headhunting expedition, whether it has succeeded or failed, is regarded as the judgement on the case shown by the wishes of their ancestral spirits; therefore the quarrel could be thus settled. It is for this reason that they must carry with them a *tsineto*(s) or *tenato*(m) or a guardian bag.

2. The organization of a hunting expedition

To organize a head-hunting expedition permission must be securred from the Chief. An expedition may consist of two or three or as many as seventy persons. In *tapilas*, participants, as a rule, are enlisted from the same *camil*, though sometimes members of a friendly *camil* may also join them. The participants elect their own *paqa-lain* or leader. The leader is to hold ceremonies and to command attacks.

3. Oath and New fire

After the expedition has been organized, all participants assemble in a certain

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

721 place to take an oath for starting their hunting trip. *joqex-etex* said that on this
796 occasion, the leader stood in front of all participants, with a wooden-spoon [*sasowai*] in his right hand and with a torch made of palm-fibre in his left hand, he prayed to their ancestor-spirits: "I hold this ceremony according to the old tradition of our tribe. This spoon and torch have been transmitted to us from our ancestors because they represent good fortune. Drinking this water in the spoon and lighted by this torch, we shall have good luck." After this, each participant moistened his right hand in the spoon and sucked it with his lips. Then, the torch was lighted. The ignition was by flint and steel. This fire had to be divided among the participants to light a new fire in their own houses. *taqun-nomin* said that the condition of the ignition revealed omens of the expedition.

4. Taboo after the new fire

721 After the new fire had been lighted, many kinds of taboo had to be observed.
784 The more important ones were: (1) prohibition from extinguishing the kitchen fire; (2)
796 prohibition from weaving (this taboo must be observed by all families of the same *qotox litan*(s) or hunting group. Other hunting groups though may be released from this taboo, but the warp beam must be filled up with cloth fragments to prevent its making a sound when weaving.); (3) prohibition from intercourse and exchange of gift with the family which is quarrelling with the other family; (4) prohibition for holding a ceremony; (5) prohibition to make a noise; (6) prohibition to steal; (7) prohibition to commit adultery (this is applied to families of the same hunting group).

5. Costumes and foods

721 The leader and other participants of the expedition dressed according to their
[26] regulation, and brought weapons, bags for transporting the hunted heads, and ear-
721 ornaments to be used in time of returning in triumph with them. Foods prepared to be consumed for the expedition were salt, millet-cakes, ginger, etc.

6. Dream divination

787 In the evening before the expedition is to start, they seek for dream omens which are called *mital sapijil*(n) or *mata spi*(s). If most of the participants have bad dream, the expedition will be postponed or cancelled.

7. Bird divination

If a good omen is gotten from the dream, two or three members of the expedition will be sent out early in the morning to hear the chirping of a kind of bird called *siljeq*. If an evil omen is gotten, the expedition must stay over night at the place where the bird divination had taken place, and will have another divination the following morning. If again an evil omen is gotten, they will cancel the trip.

8. Calling the souls of the enemy

721 If a good omen is revealed by the bird divination, the expedition will start on its
788 way. The first thing they must do after they have reached the destination is to hold a ceremony for calling the souls of their enemies to come, which is called *somilai*. In the ceremony the leader has camphor leaves in his hands, he points these in the direction

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of their enemies and says: "I have camphor leaves in my hands. One who has these leaves in his hands will acquire his enemies' heads." After this spell has been recited, all members in the expedition will come forward to touch the leaves with their hands. It is said that camphor leaves are used in this ceremony because the Han people often come to the mountain region to collect camphor leaves to make camphor, and therefore they think that the camphor leaves might have the power to attract the Han people to come for them to hunt.

9. Attacking

The object of attack may be travellers, or may be a whole homestead which is near to their living section. They will attack the homestead when it does not guard against them.

10. Triumph

If the head have been gotten, they will put it in the bag [*taoqan*] and hurry back to their village. When they come to a place which their enemies can not reach, they will take out the head from the bag, and cut down its hair. This hair will be divided into two parts: a part of it will be kept in the headhunting guardian bag, and another part of it will be equally divided among those who have aided in securing this head. After the hair has been divided up, the whole troop will proceed on their way toward their home village again. When they come near the village, they will sing *qoas palis* or the triumphal songs. Then they will proceed again. As they reach the place where their village can be seen, they will stop and fire guns according to the number of heads they have gotten to be *xamaʔao palis* or triumphal signals. They will shout "wao-si……" after each firing. When hearing these signals the villagers will come out in full dress to welcome the triumphant returners.

11. Celebration

After the expedition troop has come back to their village, the victim's head will be hung on the *laoŋ* or the wooden hook in the hunter's house. All members of the troop will be fully dressed and assembled there. When the celebration is begun, the head is removed from the hook and is put on a wooden mortar which is put up side down. Wine is poured into the mouth of the victim's head. Every two members will go forward in pairs to drink of this blood-wine which flows out from the victim's neck. This is called *palamo*(s). When they are exhilarated from drinking, they will start to dance and sing. The dancers hand in hand will circle the head. Flutes will be played to accompany the dance and singing. The dance and singing will continue the whole night until the dawn of the next day. This celebration is called *məs-liβu*(s).

12. Sacrificial rites for the head

On the next day, the head will be removed from the mortar and put into the middle of the *sasaquliatsan*(m) or *paca*(s) or a skull rack in front of the chief's house. A twig with some leaves on its end and with many carved grooves in its stem will be stuck on the center of the rack to be *lajan*(s) or "signal for calling souls." A bamboo stick tied with four bundles of grasses (miscanthus tinctorious) is stuck to each end of

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721 the rack, which is called *ɣi*(s). Another signal which is made of a kind of plant (araliapapyrifera) will be hung high on the tree to boast to the other villages, which is called *wawaja*(m) or *peila*(s). In *tapilas*, the sacrificial rite is directed by the chief. The chief will put sediment and stick a tobacco pipe into the mouth of the victim's head and pray to it" You have enjoyed our offerings of wine and tobacco. To let your campanions have the same kind of enjoyment, please ask them to join you." The villagers will do the same thing one by one. Women who have young sons will take out a small amount of the sediment from the mouth of the head to feed their sons. They believe that by eating this the young boys will become brave.

13. Ritual hunting and rattan pulling

The next day, all participants of the expedition will go out again to hunt beasts on the mountain. After they have returned, they first offer the game to the head, and then divide it in the feast among their relatives and friends. That day, the *tapilas* also hold a *pisiax-coani* or rattan pulling game. Each end of a piece of rattan about nine meters in length is tied to a piece of wood about four meters in length; this makes the whole thing I-shaped. The villagers divide themselves into two groups. Each group holds one end or one piece of wood of this I-shaped thing. When the game is started, they begin to sing, dance and jump. And then, they pull the rattan until it is broken. The group which has the longer piece of broken rattan will be considered as the winners. They believe that by doing this they will have good fortunes.

721 766 14. Defeated

If they got no head in the expedition, or if somebody of the expedition was killed or injured, the expedition will be regarded as a failure. It is believed that members who are killed in the expedition will be transferred into evil spirits. Their corpses will be deserted in woods or caves and cannot be brought back to the village. On this occasion, the head they have gotten will be deserted too. No sacrificial ritual will be held though sometimes the head has been brought into the village. The members must leave all their clothes and personal effects outside the village and return back to their own homes with naked bodies at night. Evils must be removed from those thing left outside the village by their shamans. The *siaqalo*, in this case, always demolish the house of the dead and build a new one for the family of the deceased because they are afraid of the evil spirits.

IV. FOOD

[224] 262 241 Most of the Atayal are agriculturists, though sometimes Atayal men chase game. The most important crop in their former days was millet, but today they depend mostly on sweet potatoes and rice.

1. The following kinds of plants and animals are used for food by the villagers:

Cereals—rice, millet, maize, etc.

Rhizomes—sweet potato, taro, radish, etc.